# ALEXANDER HOARDS

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BY

#### EDWARD T. NEWELL

INTRODUCTION AND KYPARISSIA HOARD



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#### INTRODUCTION

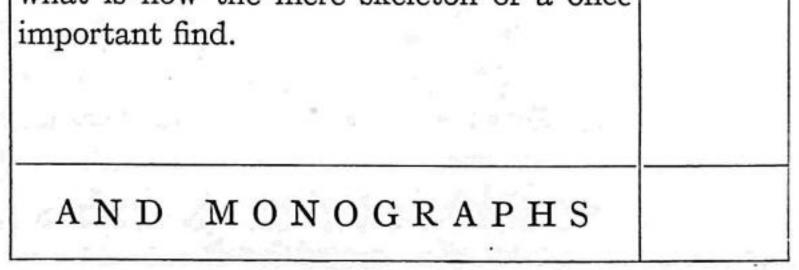
No doubt one of the greatest desiderata to students of Greek numismatics is a complete reworking of the entire coinage bearing the types of Alexander the Great, with a view to determining dates, mints, and issues of this extraordinarily large and interesting series of ancient coins. It is evident that the surest basis for such a study will undoubtedly be found in a careful analysis of hoards containing this type of coin. It is the writer's firm conviction that eventually these hoards, when studied as a whole, will be made to do for the Alexander

Series what the painstaking study of hoards of Roman coins has accomplished towards the rapidly increasing knowledge of the so-called Roman Consular denarii. This NUMISMATIC NOTES

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	excuse will serve also for the writer's in-
	tention to republish certain hoards which
	have already been dealt with by pre-
	vious writers, but which, nevertheless, still
	possess considerably more information than
	they have as yet been made to impart.
	A series of articles, inaugurated by the
	present one, is intended, therefore, not
1	only as an introduction to the study of
	Alexandrine coinage, but also to place on
	record such statistics and notes relating
	to finds of Alexander coins as the writer
	has been able to gather from time to time
	in the course of his studies.
	In view of the fact that a great deal of
	our knowledge concerning the coinages
	of Alexander and his successors will have
	to rest, in the final analysis, upon the
	evidences as established by coin hoards,
	it is peculiarly unfortunate that the latter
٠	have so seldom been studied or even re-
	corded with any care. The number of

published hoards is indeed small. The majority of such finds, as chance to have contained Alexander coins, have usually been immediately dispersed and so lost NUMISMATIC NOTES

## INTRODUCTION 3 beyond the hope of recovery, while dealers have been at pains to rid themselves, as soon as possible, of what to them was almost in the nature of a drug on the market. A notable and honorable exception has been the activity displayed by the Greek Government and, above all, by M. Jean N. Svoronos, director of the Hellenic National Collection, in securing and preserving as intact as possible all hoards unearthed in Greek territory. In this way several important finds have been saved from the general loss. On the whole, though, the greater number of Alexander hoards have been unearthed east of the Ægæan, and the conditions obtaining there have not been favorable to their preservation for scientific purposes. Therefore, every little we may have is of value, and this is the reason for the attention bestowed, in the following articles, on some mutilated record, or on what is now the mere skeleton of a once



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#### THE KYPARISSIA HOARD

THE first hoard which has been chosen for publication and study is a small find of thirty-five coins now preserved in the National Collection in Athens. The distinguished director of that fine collection, M. Jean N. Svoronos, has recently and very kindly given the writer permission to publish this interesting hoard, and the opportunity is here taken of thanking him sincerely for his generosity in thus placing these coins at our disposal. The chief reason for the selection of the Kyparissia Hoard as worthy of heading the list of finds which throw some light on the Alexander question, lies in the fact that it is the oldest in point of burial of all the Alexander hoards known to us. It should therefore definitely fix what were some of the earliest issues of Alexander the Great. It, also, incidentally corroborates the datings previously assigned by the writer to these particular issues. Only a few of the coins contained in the find have been reproduced, both because NUMISMATIC NOTES

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their types are for the most part common, and especially because the coins themselves have suffered considerably from oxidation and so lend themselves but indifferently to reproduction. Those which have been selected were cleaned since their discovery, but it will be seen that, even so, their con- dition leaves much to be desired. The autonomous issues have not been cleaned and are, therefore, too poor to reproduce. In order that the student may clearly appreciate what particular types of the Greek autonomous coinages were included in the board reference in their description	
in the hoard, reference in their description will be made to the plates of M. Babelon's <i>Traité des Monnaies grecques et romaines</i> . In the following detailed description each coin has been given a number for convenience of reference in the discussion. The second number (in parenthesis and following the first) is the serial number given to the coin in the official records	

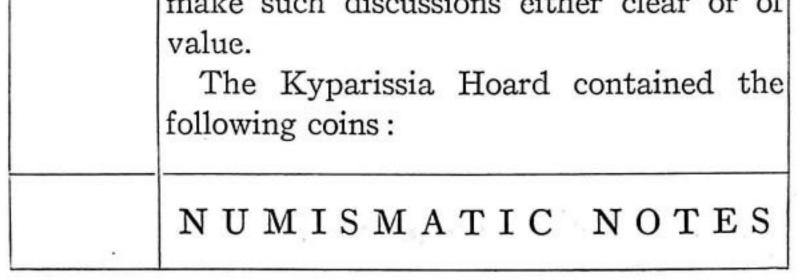
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Athens. In describing the Philip and Alexander coins reference is made, where possible, to Ludwig Müller's Numismatique AND MONOGRAPHS

of the National Numismatic Museum,

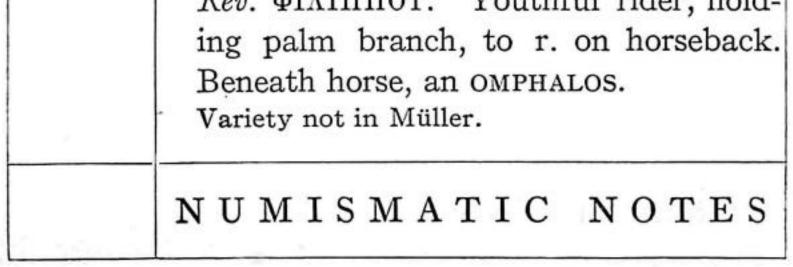
6	ALEXANDER HOARDS
	d'Alexandre le Grand and Numismatique de Philip II, Copenhagen, 1855. The Danish scholar's assignment of these coins to various mints has been completely dis- regarded, as the greater number of his attributions are worthless, having been based on a theory of mint marks long ago shown to have been erroneous. Instead, attributions to certain mints are made which the writer, because of his long study
	of this subject, feels are entirely justified. Some of these have already been discussed by him in his previous writings, and in such
	cases reference to them will be added. In cases where his attributions have not as yet been published, the reader's indulgence
	is asked until the appearance of a work now in preparation. The scope of the present article is not such as to lend itself
	to necessary lengthy discussions on various mints and their issues, nor is the material here presented of sufficient quantity to make such discussions either clear or of



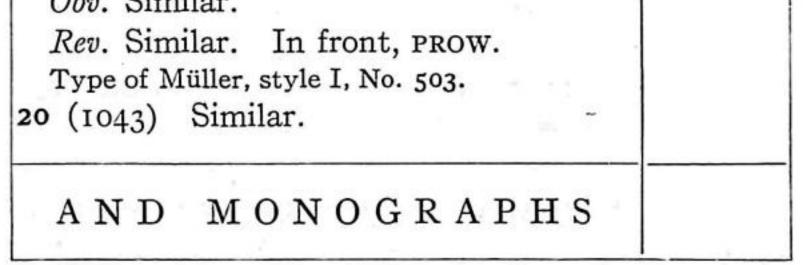
KYPARISSIA	7
LARISSA IN THESSALY, 400-344 B.C. I (1060) DRACHM. Obv. Head of Nymph facing. Rev. Horse feeding. Type of British Museum Cat., Thessaly, Pl. vi, No. 1.	
LOCRI OPUNTII, 387-338 B.C. 2 (1061) TRIOBOL. Obv. Head of Persephone to r. Rev. ΟΠΟΝΤΙΩΝ. Ajax to r. Type of Babelon, Traité, Pl. ccvii, fig. 4. 3 (1062) Similar.	
THEBES IN BŒOTIA, 426-395 B.C. 4 (1063) HEMIDRACHM. Obv. Bœotian shield. Rev. Kantharos in incuse square. Type of Babelon, Traité, Pl. cc, figs. 23, 24.	
SICYON, circa 400-300 B.C. 5 (1064) DRACHM. Obv. Dove to 1. and $\Sigma I$ . Rev. Dove to 1. in wreath. E. Type of Babelon, Traité, Pl. ccxxi, fig. 24.	

6 (1065) TRIOBOL. Obv. Chimæra to 1. and  $\Sigma I$ . Rev. Dove to 1. Type of Babelon, Traité, Pl. ccxxi, fig. 29. AND MONOGRAPHS

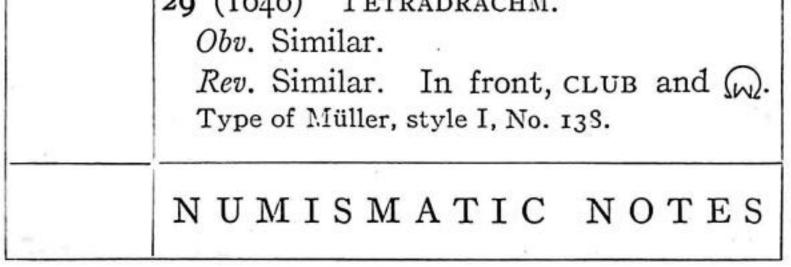
8	ALEXANDER HOARDS
	7 (1066) Similar.
	8 (1067) "
	9 (1068) "
	<b>10</b> (1069) "
lit.	HISTIÆA IN EUBŒA, 340-338 B.C.
	II (1070) TETROBOL.
	Obv. Head of Nymph to r.
	Rev. INTIAIEON. The nymph Histiæa
	seated to r. on ship's stern.
	Type of Babelon, Traité, Pl. cxcviii, fig. 28.
	PHILIP II OF MACEDON, 359-336 B.C.
	MINT OF AMPHIPOLIS.
	12 (1039) TETRADRACHM.
234	Obv. Laureate head of Zeus to r.
	Rev. ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ. The king in kausia
	and mantle, right hand raised, riding to
	1. on horseback. Beneath horse, M.
	Type of Müller, No. 292.
	13 (1038) TETRADRACHM.
	Obv. Similar.
	Rev. <b>ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ</b> . Youthful rider, hold-



KYPARISSIA	
14 (1037) TETRADRACHM.	92
Obv. Similar.	16 C
Rev. Similar. Beneath horse, DOU	BLE
HEAD and BEE.	
Variety not in Müller.	
15 (1036) TETRADRACHM.	
Obv. Similar.	
Rev. Similar. Beneath horse, DOU	BLE
HEAD.	
Type of Müller, No. 269.	
ALEXANDER III OF MACEDON,	
336-323 B.C.	
MINT OF AMPHIPOLIS.	
16 (1051) TETRADRACHM.	
Obv. Head of young Heracles.	e se se se
Rev. ALEZANAPOT. Zeus ætophor s	
ed to 1. on throne. In front, DOU	BLE
HEAD.	
Type of Müller, style I, No. 853.	
17 (1052) Similar.	
18 (1053) "	
19 (1042) TETRADRACHM.	
Obv. Similar.	



10	ALEXANDER HOARDS
	21 (1044) Similar.
	22 (1045) "
	23 (1049) TETRADRACHM.
	Obv. Similar.
	Rev. Similar. In front, STERN.
	Type of Müller, style I, No. 758.
	24 (1050) Similar.
	25 (1054) TETRADRACHM.
	Obv. Similar.
	Rev. Similar. In front, RUDDER.
	Variety not in Müller.
	26 (1046) TETRADRACHM.
	Obv. Similar.
	Rev. Similar. In front, AMPHORA.
	Type of Müller, style I, No. 527.
	27 (1041) TETRADRACHM.
	Obv. Similar.
	Rev. Similar. In front, IVY LEAF.
	Type of Müller, style I, No. 244.
	28 (1048) TETRADRACHM.
	Obv. Similar.
	Rev. Similar. In front, QUIVER.
	Type of Müller, style I, No. 591.
	20 (1040) TETRADRACHM.



30 (1047) TE	TRADRACHM.	
Obv. Similar.		dare et la la la
Rev. Similar.	. In front, DOLPHIN	٩.
Type of Mülle	r, style I, No. 539.	
Μ	INT OF TARSUS.	219 - L
<b>31</b> (1059) Te	TRADRACHM.	
Obv. Similar	, but of "Cilician"	fabric.
Rev. Similar	, but of "Cilician"	fabric.
Without syn	nbol or letter.	
이 가슴 옷을 알려서 앉는 것을 깨끗해 돈을 가지 않는 것을 잘 못 했다.	Müller. Newell, Tar.	
	m. Jour. Num., Vol. I	/II, Pl. i,
Nos. 16-19.		
32 (1055) TE		
Obv. Similar		
	Beneath throne, er, style II, No. 1291.	
loc. cit., Pl. ii,	이는 것은 것은 가장에는 것을 가지 않는 것을 것을 것을 수가요. 이렇게 있는 것을 것을 것을 수가요. 이렇게 있는 것을	ivewen,
33 (1056) TE		
Obv. Similar		
	. Beneath throne,	в.
TTOP: PATITION	. Donowon one one	

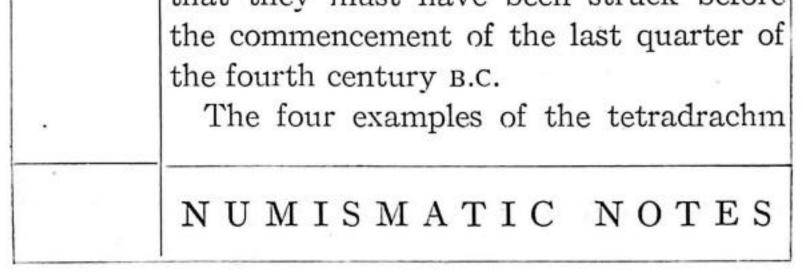
Obv. Similar. Rev. Similar. Beneath throne, B. Variety not in Müller. Newell, loc. cit., Pl. iii, Nos. 9-13. AND MONOGRAPHS

12	ALEXANDER HOARDS
	MINT OF AKE.
	35 (1058) TETRADRACHM. Obv. Similar. Rev. Similar. Beneath throne M. Variety not in Müller. Newell, The Dated Alexander Coinage of Sidon and Ake, Pl. v. Nos. 12, 13.
	This little hoard of fourth-century coins, known in the records of the National Col- lection at Athens as the "Kyparissia Find," was brought to light some years ago <sup>1</sup> during the construction of a mole or jetty in the harbor of Kyparissia in the western Pelo- ponnesus. When found, a thick coating of brownish-gray oxide covered all the coins. An attempt, not oversuccessful, has since been made to clean a few of the pieces. The original condition of the coins at the time of the burial was apparently very good, but their long interment, aided perhaps by the deleterious action of sea water, has damaged them to a considerable extent. The approximate date at which our hoard was buried may be determined with
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a fair amount of accuracy. Let us first	1
take up the autonomous issues. Of these	
the Histiæan tetrobol (No.11) is the only	
one whose date of issue has as yet been	
closely determined. Although previous	
writers have agreed in assigning it to a	
period after 313-312 B.C., the present writer	
has recently shown <sup>2</sup> that this late dating	•
is certainly erroneous with regard to the	
tetrobols of finest style and their accom-	
panying octobols and obols. This particu-	
lar group, characterized by its peculiarly	
fine style, must have been struck imme-	
diately after the Athenian liberation of the	
city from Macedonian supremacy in 340	
B.C. The series probably came to an end	
in 338 B.C., when the battle of Chæronea	
put a stop, for the time being, to all aspira-	
tions for liberty in central Greece. The	
island of Eubœa almost immediately	
afterwards came once more under Mace-	
donian domination. It is therefore only	
the tetrohols of late style and debased	

weight — far more numerous than the small issue represented by No. II — that can be assigned to the period after 312 B.C. AND MONOGRAPHS

	AT DILLAND DD HOADDO
. 14	ALEXANDER HOARDS
	To the other autonomous issues repre- sented in our hoard, somewhat lengthy periods of issue have been assigned. It is significant, however, that, with the pos- sible exception of the Sicyonian drachm (No. 5) and triobols (Nos. 6–10), they all come to an end by 338 B.C. As regards these triobols M. Babelon has assigned to them the wide margin of time extending from 400 to 300 B.C. To the writer, Head's dating, which runs only to 322 B.C., would seem to be the more acceptable, especially as about 330 B.C. — and certainly by 325 B.C. — a large issue of staters and tetra- drachms bearing Alexander's types was instituted at Sicyon. This issue may have entirely done away with the striking of autonomous coins here, at least it must have considerably curtailed their output. For us, however, this is somewhat be- side the point because the comparatively fine style exhibited by Nos. 5 to 10 show that they must have been struck before



issues of Philip II contained in the Kyparissia Find all belong to the lifetime of that king. None of them belong to the large series of posthumous issues which made their appearance, at first sporadically and in small numbers, later — about 320-318 B.C. — in extraordinarily large quantities. The four specimens are therefore to be dated before 336 B.C.

The presence in the find of tetradrachms of Alexander the Great show, it is needless to say, that our hoard must have been buried after his accession to the Macedonian throne. Furthermore, it is his coins which will have to furnish us with any information as to their date of burial, because none of the autonomous issues — always with the possible exception of the Sicyonian triobols — come down later than 338 B.C. The Alexander tetradrachms, Nos. 16–25, are representatives of the first issue under Alexander at Amphipolis, just as No. 15 is a representative of the last issue under 15

Philip at the same mint. These issues probably covered the years 336 to 334 B.C. The second issue, covering the years 333 and AND MONOGRAPHS

332 B.C., is represented by Nos. 26 and 27
The third issue, covering the year 331
B.C., is represented by No. 28, while Nos
29 and 30 represent the fourth issue for the
years 330 and 329 B.C. These earlier
issues of Amphipolis were somewhat in-
adequately treated by the present writer
in his first monograph on the subject of
Alexander's coinages (Reattribution of Cer-
tain Tetradrachms of Alexander the Great
Am. Jour. of Num., Vol. XLV, 1911)
Since that time a great deal of new materia has come to light which will necessitate
certain changes being made in some of the
details of that article. Nevertheless, the
general scheme appears to hold, and, in
particular, the earlier issues of the great
Macedonian mint seem to have been cor
rectly assembled. Unfortunately, the
writer made the mistake of too implicitly
following his predecessors in the accepted
interpretation of the dates found on the
Alexander coins of Ake. This reacted on
the dates given to the contemporaneous
Macedonian issues, which were thus made
to cover too long a period. At that time

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also, the writer was uncertain whether	
these particular Macedonian coins were	
struck in Pella or Amphipolis, and was	
rather inclined to decide in favor of the	
former mint. Since then his continued	8
studies have revealed the fact that the coins	
represented by Müller's Class I and the	
writer's types 1–51a in the above-men-	
tioned work, must be assigned to Am-	
phipolis.	
The issues of the Cilician mint of Tarsus	
have been recently worked out in detail by	
the writer. <sup>3</sup> By this we see that the Tar-	
sian specimens, Nos. 31–34 in the Kypa-	
rissia Find, all belong to the first issue of	
the mint in the Cilician metropolis. This	
issue covered the years 333 to 328 in-	
clusive, and their presence in our hoard	
corroborates the dates assigned to their	
companion pieces of Amphipolis.	
The remaining Alexander tetradrachm,	
No. 35, is of the Ake mint. The type was	

Alexander Coinage of Sidon and Ake" to have been struck between 332 and 330 B.C. The presence in the Kyparissia Hoard of AND MONOGRAPHS

shown by the writer in his "The Dated

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	these particular varieties of the Alexander type makes them reciprocally substantiate the dates assigned to them individually. Furthermore, none of these coins fall later, apparently, than 328 B.C. None of the Philip tetradrachms are later than 336 B.C., nor are the autonomous coins al- ways with the possible exception of the Sicyonian triobols later than 338 B.C., which fact, in turn, sustains the early
	dating assigned to the Alexander tetra- drachms. With regard to the triobols of Sicyon in the find, we have indicated that there is reason to believe that they too do not conflict with the other indications of an early date for the hoard's burial. There- fore, if we are to allow a little time for the latest of the Alexander pieces to reach the western Peloponnesus, the original
	owner of this hoard could not possibly have buried it previous to 327 B.C. On the other hand, the coins could not have been buried very much after this date, as is

probable from the fact that the immediately succeeding issues of Amphipolis and Tarsus were very large indeed, and so NUMISMATIC NOTES

examples would soon have found their way into the hoarder's savings, as he seems to have drawn so largely on the issues of these two mints. It is also significant that none of the large Alexander issues of Sicyon, which commenced to appear at just about this time, are represented in the find.

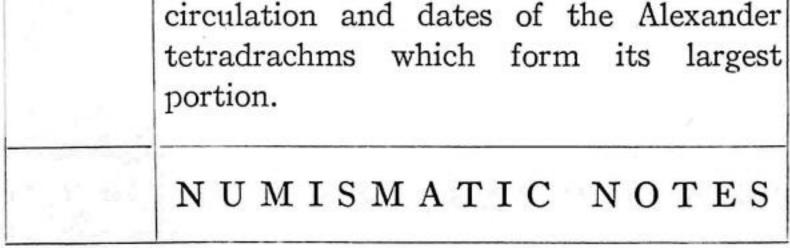
A glance at the hoard as a whole does not tell us much concerning its former owner or the circumstances which led to its burial. It is curious that it contained no Athenian, Corinthian, or Elian coins. One would think that the comparatively common issues of the last named place, at least, would be represented in a hoard buried not far This perhaps suggests that the away. former owner may have been a Macedonian soldier stationed in the Peloponnesus after the unsuccessful attempt, in 330 B.C., of the Spartan king Agis to overthrow the Macedonian supremacy. As a follower of the regent Antipater his pay, conceivably, would have been largely in Alexander tetradrachms, especially those of the principal Macedonian mint Amphipolis. The Phœnician and some of the Cilician AND MONOGRAPHS

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tetradrachms might have constituted a portion of the large amounts of silver which Arrian (III, 16, 17) says Alexander caused to be forwarded from Syria to Antipater for the express purpose of carrying on the war against the Lacedæmonians. The lesser denominations, then, especially the triobols of Sicyon, would represent the small change the soldier had received on the local market when he made purchases with his tetradrachms. What the Larissan, Theban, and Histiæan pieces are doing so far from home is not easy to conjecture unless, indeed, they were odd pieces brought along from his previous station in Thebes, Thessaly, or Eubœa — where we know the Macedonian Government kept strong garrisons. Mere fanciful conjecture all this may be, but to the writer it seems to cover the facts in the case. Conjecture, however, it will always remain. The real interest of the Kyparissia Find lies entirely in the light it throws on the



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NOTES	
<sup>1</sup> This find was entered on the accession book for 1892-1893 of the Athenian National Collec- tion. It is there given the accession number KZ for that year. <sup>2</sup> The Octobols of Histiæa, Numismatic Notes and Monographs, Am. Num. Soc. 1921.	
<sup>3</sup> Tarsos under Alexander, Am. Jour. of Num. Vol. LII, 1918.	

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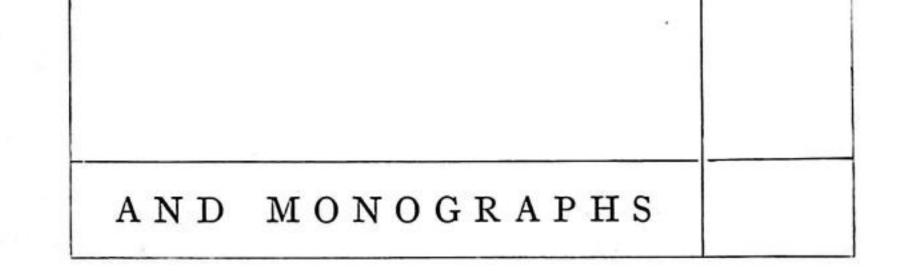


Plate I











## Plate II











